1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."

Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only exchange sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

[695] [648] [619] [439] [436] [582] [574] [796]

[a] Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Pokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Kwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting for Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two net bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "nonki nothing".

593 Since Nguseruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbim because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

*115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Aubunti with Owiyap, Yet, Nam and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also [123] [657] because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbim.

January 17, 1937.

[584] Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to War, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked War directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had His act as go-between.

[123] The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Owiyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. [436] [583] [123] (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his [123] decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried

Ornaments

301 286 287 192 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (asvũnd) onto which shells are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide, narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).

[583] [439] [436] Shells, yasi (small cowrie shells) and asemanárá (larger ones), obtained by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their function as money.

The figure below, an ornament called nũ masíkí (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net bags.

[562] [796] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is decorated with clam shell rings (andagurí), shell ornaments (vanyirí), yasi, asemanárá and lofu wafé (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] [703] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (mano) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has [858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the nano.

301 [561] 301 237 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo fohu) is attached